

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XIX. No. 16.] LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1811. [Price 1s.

" If nations must adjust their policy on the prospect of War from abroad, they are equally bound to provide for the attainment of Peace at home; but there is no Peace in the absence of justice. It may subsist with divisions, disputes, and contrary opinions, but not with the commission of wrongs. The *injurious*, and the *injured*, are, as implied in the very meaning of the terms, in a state of hostility."—DR. FERGUSON.

449]

[450

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE PRESS.—The prospect of seeing the State of the Press fully discussed, encourages me to offer some remarks upon the subject, in the hope, that the public may, in time, see how *they* will be affected by the *freedom* or *slavery* of this great political and moral engine.—Men often spend much time in discussions to very little profit, only for want of having, at the outset, a clear understanding of the matter in discussion. If the notion of the thing about which you are in discussion be not very clear in your mind, it is merely by chance if you conduct your reasoning to any useful conclusion. How often has it happened to every man to listen to a very well told story, and yet to wonder at the laugh it excited in others, and to stand himself gaping like an oaf; and that merely from not having obtained at the beginning a clear idea as to the point upon which the wit or humour turned?—Indeed, there needs nothing to be said to convince any one, that, unless he has a clear understanding of the thing about which any discussion takes place, it is impossible for him to profit much from the discussion itself, and that he must attribute it to mere good fortune, if he does not come to an erroneous conclusion.—Therefore, in entering upon the remarks that I now propose to offer upon the subject of the *Liberty of the Press*, it is necessary for me to give the best definition or description in my power of *the thing itself*; and I am the more disposed to do this as I am convinced that a great part of what every real friend of freedom laments to see, has proceeded from a want of an universal adoption of such definition.—At the end of this Summary will be found a Letter, signed PUBLICOLA, which I have extracted from the Times News-paper. I commend the zeal and admire the talents of the writer. But, though a good piece of writing, it is not calculated to produce much impression upon the public, loose as it is

in point of definition, and loaded as it is with references to nations and to times, of the facts relating to which even men of reading can have but a very imperfect knowledge.—The writer is to be commended for his researches into ancient history; but, in the application of them to this subject, I cannot applaud his taste; and, he will excuse me if I express my opinion, that such application has a tendency to lessen the force of his argument.—With men, who have been at great schools, there is, too often, something of the school-boy sticking to them through life. Having had their education under *word-mongers*, they are extremely fortunate if they ever get completely rid of the love of dealing in the same ware themselves. Having, for so many years, been accustomed to look upon the knowledge of *words* in outlandish languages as the highest of all human qualifications, it is no wonder that they continue to think so, and, accordingly, to interlard all their writings with references to the history of the countries where those languages flourished, such references affording them an excuse for indulging in a display of their school-boy knowledge.—This fault is seen even in the signature of the Letter of which I am speaking. Why "PUBLICOLA?" The people of England, in general, do not know any thing about Publicola; and, if they did, there would be no good in the using of it. Such *strange words* only serve to *confuse* at the least. Without some *inquiry* the mass of the people cannot understand them; and, if enquiry be bestowed upon the *word*, the thing is lost sight of.—And, then, why does this writer go to *Greece* and *Rome* for proofs in favour of the liberty of the press? What did the Greeks and Romans know about printing? Pisistratus and Socrates and Demosthenes and Cicero are fine sounding names; they are very well calculated to make a noise in a sentence; but all these men put together did not know so much about the Liberty of

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the Press as my Printer's boy does. It is really ridiculous to see a sensible man going back to times when no man had ever dreamt of such a thing as a press, in order to *bring proofs of the necessity of the press to the support of public liberty!*—I shall be told, that the author does not pretend, that the *press* flourished in Greece and Rome at the glorious times he is speaking of; but that freedom of *speech* was allowed, and that the liberties of the country were preserved by that. But, mark the inference which may be drawn from this: if you lead us back to Greece and Rome, and tell us, that, at such and such times, those countries were *free*, and were indeed *objects of our imitation*, and yet that *they had no press at all*, does it not follow, or, at least, may it not, for any thing that you have shewn to the contrary, be concluded, that *we do not want any press at all?*—Such are the difficulties into which men are led by that school-boy hankering after the “learned languages,” as they call them, which induces them to lug in, upon all occasions, something or other about *Greece and Rome*; and it would be no matter of surprise with me, if I were to find one of them tracing the breeding of Old Bake-well's sheep back to the Greeks and the Romans.—The whole history of the *Liberty of the Press* belongs to England. It was in this country that it had its origin. Here it has flourished at times, and at times has been almost extinguished. Here have its effects been experienced, and here been born and lie buried the men who have been its champions. It is, upon a subject like this, of PRYNN and LILBURNE and TOOKE, and such men that we should speak, and not of *Socrates and Demosthenes and Cicero and Pisistratus*, who knew as little about a *press* as the people of England know about them. All such attempts to apply this school-boy sort of learning, which, in fact, arise from the vanity of appearing to know more than the people at large; all such attempts are ridiculous, and, when made in a case like this, mischievous; because they inevitably weaken the argument that they are intended to support; it being impossible that the reader, who seeks information, should not doubt of a truth which must appear to him to stand in need of proofs so far fetched and of such uncertain foundation. And, if the reader happens to have read the works of VIRGIL, from whom this writer takes his motto, he must

know, that that VIRGIL was one of the basest scoundrels that ever lived; one of the most crawling and disgusting parasites, and a pander even to unnatural passions into the bargain. The books of this man, which are put by parsons into the hands of our youth, are a complete course of villainy. They teach flattery, gross, fulsome, nauseous flattery of an execrable tyrant, who gained his power by deliberate perfidy and murder. They teach every species of vice, and not very equivocally give countenance to that horrid vice which has grown up in England with the introduction of foreigners and foreign manners and foreign effeminacy.—And, yet, it is from this author, that the writer of the Letter in question *takes his motto?* Could he not have found mottos in Lilburne's or Tooke's speeches; or in the speeches of Lord Erskine or Sir Francis Burdett? Why go to the Romans, and to this detestable, this infamous slave, VIRGIL, for a motto to a Letter upon the Liberty of the Press? Why, this miscreant, if he were living in England, would, if the Attorney General ordered him to do it, come with his tongue and lick all the dirt off his feet and off his carcass too; and, one of the reasons why we see so much want of public-spirit, and such a proneness to abject submission, amongst so many of those who have had what is called (as it were ironically) a liberal education, is, that they are, when young, taught to admire the works of VIRGIL and HORACE, two of the basest, most abject, most self-degraded wretches, that ever existed, and whose very names must be hateful to any one who is sincerely engaged in endeavouring to restore Liberty to the Press.—But, there is another part of this Letter, which is still more likely to lead to mischievous consequences. I allude to the passage, where the writer pronounces a *general eulogium* on the Liberty of the Press, and ascribes to it what does by no means belong to it, thereby confusing the notions of the reader, setting his mind upon the wander, and, which is still worse, causing him to believe, that there is a great deal of Liberty of the Press where there is no such thing.—The author says, that “we owe every thing to the Liberty of the Press; and that our *arts, our sciences, and our learning*, have all sprung from “this source.” I wonder that he had not added the *grass and the trees*.—In the first place, I should be glad to know what *learning* means other than the *arts* and

sciences? This is another instance of the absurdities engendered by the school-boy hankering before spoken of.—But, as to the main point, it is proving, or, rather, asserting, too much to ascribe all our *arts* and *sciences* to the *Liberty of the Press*; for, it is very notorious, that, with regard to the far greater part of the *arts* and *sciences*, the *Liberty of the Press* has been of no consequence at all. What, for instance, had the *Liberty of the Press* to do with the discoveries of NEWTON, or with the LOGIC OF LOCKE, or with any of the discoveries and inventions in MECHANICS, in CHEMISTRY, in AGRICULTURE, in MANUFACTURES, in NAVIGATION, or in WAR? What had the *Liberty of the Press* to do in bringing the New Leicester Sheep to bear all fat and no lean, or in enabling MR. CURWEN to make milk out of stewed straw, and to fatten the poor upon it? What had the *Liberty of the Press* to do with all, or with any of, these things?—It is not true, that we owe any of the *arts* and *sciences* to the *Liberty of the Press*. The French and the Germans surpass us in most of the *arts* and *sciences*. There are very few in which they do not greatly surpass us; and, have they had such a great deal of the *Liberty of the Press*?—This question is a *home* one. It is one that must be answered; or the position must be abandoned.—What had the *Liberty of the Press* to do with the famous *Block-Cutting Machine* in our Dock Yards, or with the not less famous *Paper-Making Machine*? These were both invented by *Frenchmen*. Besides, it is well known, that, at this moment, all the *arts* and *sciences* are at a much greater height in France than they are here. Sir JOSEPH BANKS, the President of our Royal Society, declared, when he was chosen a member of the French Institute, that it was the “*first literary Society in the world*.” And, is this writer prepared to say, that all this excellence in the *arts* and *sciences* has arisen from the *Liberty of the Press in France*? Yet, this he must say, or he must abandon the position, that we owe our *arts* and *sciences* to the *Liberty of the Press*.—But, I may be asked, why I argue against this position, even supposing it to be erroneous, seeing that the higher the *Liberty of the Press* is raised, the greater will be the public attachment to it.—In the first place, I answer, that all error ought to be corrected; and that, if I could succeed in any object by false colouring and representation,

I would not employ such means.—But, I am satisfied, that it is a very great mistake to suppose, that the *Liberty of the Press* is, by such means, raised in the estimation of the public; for, if our *arts*, our *sciences*, and our every thing good proceed from the *Liberty of the Press*, how will the public reason upon the subject of any Attorney General’s prosecutions for libel? Will they not say, “aye, very true, that is a little hard; but yet, they leave us a great deal of *Liberty of the Press*; for any man may cultivate the *arts* and *sciences*. Yes, yes; we have, after all, a great deal of good out of this *Liberty of the Press*, which gives us all our *arts* and *sciences*, and we see them flourish exceedingly, and, of course, we have a pretty fair share of the *Liberty of the Press*.”—Now, I put it to the reader, whether this is not the course of reasoning, to which Publicola’s position, if adopted, must inevitably lead? And, then I ask him, if it be possible for any, the very bitterest, foe to freedom, and especially to the *Liberty of the Press*, to suggest any thing more likely to do it mischief?—If this notion be adopted, I really see very little reason to complain of what was done by the infernal Court of *Star Chamber*; for they very freely suffered any man to write about the *arts* and *sciences* as much as he pleased. Any body might write against or for oxygen or gas, or carbonic acid, or volatile alkali, or about verbs and nouns, and subtraction and multiplication, or about the changes of the moon, and the rising and setting of the sun, or about draining and watering lands, or about hedging and ditching, and about breeding and fattening of cattle and sheep and hogs and barn-door fowls and ducks and geese and turkeys, or about hunting of foxes and hares, and shooting of birds, or about planting woods and orchards, or about making and repairing of canals and roads, and common sewers and gutters and sink-holes. The Court, that infamously tyrannical Court of *Star Chamber*, whose proceedings so materially assisted in bringing Charles the First to the block, and some of the members of which Court came to the same end themselves; even that succession of insolent and inexorable tyrants, even that Court, which it was one of the greatest and most glorious works of our forefathers to overthrow; even that gang of unjust and base ruffians in power, *freely*, very freely permitted any man to write upon such subjects; very freely indeed.

So that, according to "Publicola," there was a great deal of *Liberty of the Press* under the Court of Star Chamber.—And now, what reason is there to complain upon this score? Mr. FINNERTY, for instance, might have written *Grammars* and *Spelling-books* and *Primmers* to the day of his death without being brought before one of the SPECIAL JURIES at Westminster. He might have made the whole circuit of the *arts* and *sciences* without giving the smallest offence. He was at perfect *liberty* to do this. So that, according to Publicola, Mr. FINNERTY enjoyed a great deal of *Liberty of the Press*. If Publicola, (I don't like this outlandish school-boy name); If Publicola really thinks that we actually enjoy a great deal of *Liberty of the Press*, he is right in stating positions calculated to make others think the same; but, if he does not think so, and if his wish be not to make others think so, and if he desires to co-operate with the noble Lord to whom his letter is addressed, he is certainly making use of means destructive of his end.—The whole of this train of errors in this writer arises from his having done what thousands have done before him; namely, confounded the *Art of Printing*, or the *Employment of the Press*, with the *Liberty of the Press*. It is very clear, that the one has nothing to do with the other, any more than the *art of writing*, or the *employment of the pen*, has to do with the *Liberty of the Press*.—To the *Art of Printing* the *arts* and *sciences* do, indeed, owe much; but, nothing at all do they owe to the *Liberty of the Press*, which is quite another thing; though so often confounded by fools as well as by knaves, nothing being more suitable to the purposes of the latter. —*Liberty*, actively speaking, means the right, or power of doing with safety to yourself that which is naturally *disagreeable to*, or *contrary to the interests of*, another, be that other who he may.—Turn it as often as you please, this is the true definition of *Liberty* in the active sense of the word. Put the question as often as you will, and you will find, that, wherever the liberty to do a thing is asserted, there is a party against whose wish or interest the contemplated action operates.—So of the *Liberty of the Press*, which means the right, or power, of publishing, with safety and without any risk to one's self, that which is naturally *disagreeable to*, or *contrary to the interests of*, another. The bounds of this liberty is a question to be hereafter considered. But, that it is this which is

meant by the *Liberty of the Press* will not, I am sure, be denied.—If you are to publish only that which *offends nobody*; if you are to be permitted to publish nothing that *hurts any man's feelings*; if you are to say not a word that any man in power can *take amiss*; would it not be a mockery, a base truckling, to say that you enjoyed *Liberty of the Press*? Yet, you would have *Liberty* to indulge your genius for the *arts* and *sciences*; you would have perfect *Liberty* to ascend amongst the stars, and, as the Latin Poets did, assign some earthly tyrant a place there; you would have oceans of *liberty* of this sort; you would have perfect *liberty* to extol every creature in power; and, if you had lived in the time of the Star Chamber, you would have had as much *liberty* as you pleased to *praise* the corrupt and merciless villains who succeeded each other in that Court; and whose chief object in stifling the *Liberty of the Press*, was, to prevent the people's coming at a knowledge of the true means by which they were plundered, the members of the Court being always amongst the leading plunderers of the day, and rather than disgorge their plunder they were ready to imprison, whip, pillory, crop, gag, or hang the whole of the people, leaving just enough to be their slaves, to furnish them with the means of luxurious living. Some of these execrable tyrants perished for their misdeeds; and, amongst all those, on whom the just vengeance of our forefathers fell, none deserved it so richly. They had shown no mercy; they, UNDER THE GARB OF LAW AND JUSTICE, had violated all law and all justice; their cruelties were of the most *cowardly* kind; because, while they inflicted them, they put on the affectation of compassion and of piety; all their proceedings was a tissue of chicanery and fraud; they deceived the people into a quiet acquiescence in their abominable decisions. But, at last, the deception, the villainous fraud, could not longer avail them; and down they came, covered at once with curses and with blows.—Yet, even in the time of this corrupt and infamous Court, no man was prevented from writing upon the *arts* and *sciences*; no man was prevented from writing in *praise* of the King or his French wife or any of her crew. There was full *Liberty of the Press*, for all these purposes, even in the time of the Star Chamber Court. But, when a man accused the Lord Chancellor Bacon of *bribery*,

he was pilloried, whipped, tortured, and imprisoned for life, where he died and his family starved, though the villain Bacon had been guilty of bribery a hundred times. There are people, particularly *Lawyers*, who speak compassionately of this corrupt Judge; but I never heard of any one of them who pitied this poor man and his family.—It would be a most valuable thing to collect together an account of all the *corrupt and tyrannical Judges* that have lived in England, and put it into a small book for the *use of Schools*. The lives and actions of *petty ruffians* are blazoned forth in all manner of ways; why not those of the *great ones*? A very nice and useful volume might be made upon this subject, and it would do a great deal more good than the Book of Martyrs ever did.—This poor man, who, and whose family, were murdered by inches, because he wrote the truth about BACON'S bribery, might have written upon the *arts and sciences* for his whole life time. He had full *liberty* to write in *praise* of this corrupt Judge; but he had *no liberty* to disclose his *bribery*.—Enough has, I hope, now been said to show, that the being able with safety to publish Spelling-books and horn books and farming and planting and sporting and chemical and astronomical and geometrical and arithmetical books; enough has, I hope, been said to shew that the being able, with safety, to publish such books is not worthy of being called *Liberty of the Press*. This is a *Liberty of the Press*, which is now most fully tolerated by the Emperor of France, which was never refused by the Spanish Inquisition, which is not refused by the government of Russia, or even by that of Sicily.—But, this is not *Liberty of the Press*. It has nothing to do with *liberty*, any more than fiddling or whistling has; any more than threshing corn or making shoes has to do with liberty. It is the *using of the press*; it is the using of the same *machine* that is made use of for exercising the *Liberty of the Press*; the same sort of *types* are made use of to be sure; but, to call it *Liberty of the Press* to be able with safety to publish a spelling book or a psalter or the story of Goody Two Shoes, merely because they are printed by the same sort of machine as a censure upon the conduct of a public man is printed, is as stupid as it would be to insist that oatmeal is the same thing as wheat-meal, merely because both have been ground in the same mill.—No, where there is, on the

part of nobody, any objection or dislike to the thing that you publish, there is nothing worthy of being called *Liberty of the Press*. It is a farce, and a *despicable farce*, to talk about *Liberty of the Press*, if you are allowed to do nothing that any man can feel *offended at*. Scandalous mockery to call this *Liberty of the Press*.—There is a distinction between *private* and *public* matters; but, it may safely be asserted, that, as to the bounds to which men ought to be allowed to go as to *private matters* and as to all *persons*, that is no rational and safe boundary but *truth*; and that, as to the *public conduct*, and as to the *character*, of men who are entrusted with the management of *public affairs*, if these cannot be freely discussed; if there be any other limit than that of *truth* to discussions of this sort, there can be no *Liberty of the Press*, though there may be a great deal of writing about mechanics and chemistry. Freely to discuss the *characters*, the *conduct*, and the *measures* of MEN IN POWER; if this can be done, if a *true* picture of them all can be exhibited to the public, if this can be done by the means of the press, and without exposing the person who does it to any risk of loss of property or liberty; if this can be done, there is *Liberty of the Press*; if it cannot, there is *none*.—In a future Number, I will endeavour to show what has been heretofore, and what must always naturally be the consequence of stifling this liberty.

AMERICAN STATES.—The papers, inserted in another part of this Number, will show, that the Americans are not very well contented with the conduct of France, who appears to have been putting on with one hand what she has been taking off with the other.—But, in the meanwhile the intercourse with England is stopped, and those who have all along supported the Pitt system, will now have to make the best of it.—The last Stoppage did not affect them so much. The Continent was open then. Now it is closed against us. And, with America closed too, we shall be able to see a little what stuff commerce is made of.—The system of the Emperor Napoleon has completely succeeded as to the cutting off of our commerce. He has *done it*; and it is quite useless for us to attempt to swagger any more about it. He will suffer no more commerce between us and the Continent; so that this war, which was begun 19 years ago by "the great statesman now no more,"

for the purpose of engrossing all the commerce of the world, has already (and it is not nearly over) cut us *completely off from the continent of Europe and the United States of America*.—What a pity it was that PITT died so soon! Would to God he could be raised up and kept upon earth for a couple or three years longer!—However, there will be his *monument*. We shall have that to go and look at. That monument is my mark.—I am by no means of opinion, that the loss of commerce will be any injury to England, in the end; but, it will produce a great deal of distress in the meanwhile; and, as to the PITT SYSTEM, it will give it a severe shock.—This system has, indeed, many things to encounter. All its natural consequences, its harvest of evils, are now coming tumbling in. The seeds were sown by PITT and his worthy associate DUNDAS. They began with the famous India Bill, 26 years ago. Some were sown sooner and some later, but their fruit are now beginning to ripen and drop in one after another.—The system is in its *agonies*. It reels and plunges and flings about, and exhibits all the signs of dissolution. As its end approaches, its *exacerbations* will be more frequent and more strong; its plunges will become more desperate; but its death will be the more *signal* and the more satisfactory.—For my part, I see no danger to be apprehended from the loss of commerce, which has been one of the *greatest enemies of public liberty* for the last 26 years, and which, as long as this system exists, must and will continue so.—Many people, and indeed, almost every body, would seem to think, that this stoppage to commerce is merely *temporary*. They will find it durable. They will never see things as they have been. The intercourse with America may be re-opened; but, with the continent, which was the great outlet, it will not be re-opened; and, my opinion is, that it will not be re-opened in *peace* any more than in war. I do not see why it should.—But, again I say, the loss of commerce will produce no injury to the country.

PORTUGAL.—THE WAR.—This is become a very *dull* affair. The news of Serjeant Junot's death gave us a little life for a few days; but, finding him to be alive, we are become very dead again.—The London venal prints have recently been endeavouring to make it out that Serjeant Massena is in a bad state, and, to hear

them, one would have no doubt of his soon being compelled to surrender at discretion.—I wonder what they will say, if Viscount Talavera should be obliged to come home with his army and leave Massena and his army in Portugal! I wonder what they will say. Will they tell the "fashionable world" and the old blood-sucking Anti-Jacobins, that Lord Talavera is still "*drawing Massena after him*?" I really should not be surprized if they were; and if they were to add a charge of *cowardice* against Massena because he did not *follow*. There is nothing too gross to be expected. Nothing that ought to excite surprise after what we have heard from these men upon this subject.—There are certain rumours afloat as to the *state of our army*; but, of one thing I am pretty certain, and that is, that we are at an *enormous expence* in supporting it.—Mr. LAMBE, in the debate on the Address, observed, that the war had *lagged*, on the part of France, of late years! Really I do not know what this gentleman would have of France. She has, within these six months, since I have been in Newgate, at any rate, united Holland to herself, taken possession of the Hans Towns, put a Prince upon the throne of Sweden, made great progress in the conquest of Spain, and taken possession of nineteen twentieths of Portugal, while, on the other hand, she has fitted out, during the same space of time, many ships of war, and has raised sailors to man them.—Yet, it seems, that this is *not fast enough* for Mr. LAMBE. He thinks the war *lags*; he is not contented, it would seem, unless Napoleon conquers a kingdom every month.—Oh, no! It does not *lag*, Mr. LAMBE. It is going very rapidly on. Quite rapidly enough for us in all conscience, and so you will think, in a very few years time, or I am much deceived.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate,
Friday, 22nd Feb. 1811.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,
From the Times News-paper of the 20th Feb.
1811.

TO THE
RIGHT HON. LORD HOLLAND.

Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque, mane-
bunt. Virg.

My Lord;—As it is universally agreed, that we are not born for ourselves, nor our

private advantage, but for the general good of civil society; so it is declared by one of the most illustrious characters * that ever lived, that no work can be so great or excellent among men, as that of a statesman who makes the freedom and happiness of his citizens the grand object of all his designs. Such a man as this is, indeed, a Great Man: he is the Great Man whom Sir Samuel Romilly described a short time back, in the House of Commons, when some observations were made upon these words;—he is the Great Man whom your Lordship's ever-to-be-lamented Relative manifested in his life and actions; and, unless others as well as myself are much deceived, he is the great man whom your Lordship, in your own character, will exhibit to the world. This eulogium, my Lord, sincere and merited as it is, need not offend your delicacy. Praise is due to him who exerts himself for the good of his country; and as it is a noble testimony in his favour, so it is a mark of gratitude in those who bestow it upon him. Demosthenes expressed great satisfaction when the old woman at Athens pointed at him and said, "That is Demosthenes:" so Pliny declares, that though he had often been applauded by the Centumvirate for his pleading, yet he never was more highly gratified, than when one of his countrymen pointed him out to a stranger, and said, "That is Pliny." "Truly," says he, "I am pleased with it, and I dare own I am: for I am not afraid of appearing vain, when I represent, not what I think of myself, but what others think of me."† —My Lord, the motion which your Lordship has just made in the House of Peers, "for an account of the number of informations filed *ex officio* by the Attorney-general," deserves the thanks and applause of every friend to his country. The great number of informations which of late years have been filed against public writers, cannot but fill us with apprehensions for the safety and freedom of the press. But it is not here that the mischief rests. It is said, that informations are sometimes filed, which are not afterwards prosecuted to effect. The party, who, in the first instance, is supposed to have offended, is put to great expence; he is kept in a state of continual uneasiness and alarm; and, more than this, his mind becomes fettered and restrained. To write again, would, per-

haps, be a matter of serious consequence to him. It may afterwards be said that he continued to agitate a subject against which he had been cautioned; and that the repetition of the offence imputed to him calls for a severer punishment. But, suppose after all, that he has not committed any error; suppose he has not written any thing that is "*tangibly*" libellous; what are the consequences both to himself and to the country? The one is prevented from continuing his duty, by the impression of a prosecution hanging over his head; while the other is deprived of the benefit of his labour and services: Nothing, therefore, should be done which may carry the appearance of having been done only *in terrorem*; and, at all events, the innocent party should be compensated for the sacrifices he has incurred. I trust, that your Lordship's motion will produce these benefits: and that your subsequent endeavours will have the effect of establishing and securing the liberty of the press. —My Lord, the liberty of the press is of the utmost importance both to our safety and our reputation. To the exercise of this privilege we owe whatever we possess: our national honour and prosperity, our personal security, our arts, our sciences and learning, have all sprung from this source. Nor are these blessings and results peculiar to ourselves. They have been the same in every country where freedom and letters have been cultivated and revered. It is liberty that cherishes learning, and stimulates the arts; and no longer than the former exists can the latter prevail and flourish. Deeply impressed with the conviction of this great truth, I would venture to address your Lordship, no less as a scholar than as a lover of liberty; and, by taking a brief, but faithful, view of the ancient and present state of Greece and Rome, as well as of this country, I would shew, that as the two former acquired their strength in arms, and reputation in arts, from the toleration and encouragement of freedom of speech; so they lost them again, when they lost that freedom of speech: and hence I would demonstrate, that the same may be expected to be our fate, whenever we are deprived of the liberty of the press—a fate, which, I am sure, your Lordship cannot be too solicitous to prevent.—My Lord, if we look back to the time when learning and science flourished most in Greece, we shall find it to have been when the Athenians had delivered themselves from the tyranny

* Cic. Frag. de Repub. b. v.

† Plin. Epist. lib. ix. ep. 23.

of Pisistratus, and, after this, had defeated the vast efforts of the Persians; and that, against two successive invaders, Darius and Xerxes. Then did they begin to cultivate letters and philosophy: then did they prove themselves the wisest and most polite, as they had just shewn themselves to be the bravest of men. "In the short space of little more than a century," says Mr. Harris, "they became such statesmen, warriors, orators, historians, physicians, poets, critics, painters, sculptors, architects, and (last of all) philosophers, that one can hardly help considering that golden period, as a providential event in honour of human nature, to shew to what perfection the species might ascend."* In this time, we find the parent and prince of moral philosophy, Socrates; who, from his universal benevolence, and extensive knowledge of mankind delivered this admirable saying: "The Sun might as easily be spared from the Universe, as free speech from the liberal institutions of society."† At this time, therefore, liberty of speech prevailed; and we read, that, some time after, when Timoleon found the people of Syracuse greatly oppressed and totally deprived of this liberty, he delivered them from the tyranny of Dionysius, declaring, "That the primary motive to all his painful enterprises had been the security of free speech to the meanest citizen;"‡ and, in consequence of this doctrine, he would not punish a man who presumed to investigate the motives of his conduct. Just at this period shone forth Demosthenes; an orator, who was continually exhorting his countrymen to maintain their freedom of speech, and not to be deceived by the flattery or misrepresentations of venal writers. Happy would it have been for the Athenians had they taken his advice; but some artful and designing politicians found means to corrupt the people, and employed writers to deceive them; that is, to make them believe they were in no danger of losing their liberties, even at the very moment when they were ready to expire. "Whilst sycophants and hirelings," says Demosthenes to his countrymen, "are encouraged and rewarded, the true patriot, who has no other end than your good, is falsely accused and suspected, and delivered up as a sacrifice. Let me tell you (adds he), till some legal redress can be had of this grievance, the

very best of your citizens will be punished for the freedom of his advice, if he is so mad as to give it:—but who will be a friend, when he is sure to be treated like an enemy?"* This language may very justly be applied to ourselves at this day; and it will be well for us, if we pay more attention to it than the Athenians did. For what were the consequences; Alexander advanced and conquered them. From that time, they were no longer the bold and eloquent, the learned and philosophical people which their ancestors had been. Some few men appeared who possessed superior talents; but then it must be remembered, that even these were born before the time of Alexander's conquest, and had been bred and educated in the principles of liberty. To this alone are we to attribute their genius and their talents; for, some ages after, we find that elegant writer "On the Sublime," declaring, that "it is liberty which produces fine sentiments in men of genius; it invigorates their hopes, excites an honourable emulation, and inspires an ambition and thirst of excelling †." Unhappily, that eminent writer (a singular exception to his age) felt this truth from his own experience; and, therefore, he pathetically exclaims, "But for our parts, we were born in subjection, in lawful subjection, it is true, to arbitrary government. Hence, the prevailing manners made too strong an impression on our infant minds, and the infection was sucked in with the milk of our nurses. We have never tasted liberty, that copious and fertile source of all that is beautiful, and of all that is great; and hence we are nothing but pompous flatterers. Never yet did a slave become an orator. His spirit being effectually broken, the timorous vassal will still be uppermost; the habit of subjection continually overawes and beats down his genius. Thus I have heard (if what I have heard in this case may deserve credit), that the cases in which dwarfs are kept, not only prevent the future growth of those who are enclosed in them, but diminish what bulk they already have, by too close constriction of their parts. So slavery, be it never so easy, is slavery still, and may deservedly be called the prison of the soul, and the public dungeon ‡."—Such, then, were the Greeks in their days of liberty, such in

* *Hermes*, p. 417.

† *Apud Stob.*

‡ *Corn. Nep.* xx. 5.

* *Vide 2d Olyn. Or.*

† *Smith's Longinus*, sect. 44.

‡ *Ibid.*

their days of slavery. At last they were conquered by the Turks. And what are they, at this moment, under the yoke of those barbarous infidels? Let us hear a well-informed eastern traveller:—"The Greeks are never admitted by the Turks to the rights of fellow-citizens or fellow-subjects, unless they abjure their religion and their country. They are slaves; and, as according to their law, the Turks have a right, at all times, to put to death their prisoners, the conquered, and their posterity for ever, are obliged annually to redeem their heads by paying the price set on them. They are excluded from all offices in the State. It is death for a conquered Greek to marry a Turkish woman. They are in every respect treated as enemies. They are still called and distinguished by the name of their nation; and a Turk is never called a Greek, though his family should have been settled for generations in that country. The testimony of a Greek is not valid in a Court of Judicature, when contrasted with that of a Turk. They are distinguished by a different dress. It is death to wear the same apparel as a Turk. Even their houses are painted of a different colour *." Such, my Lord, is the condition of the Greeks; such the miserable condition of men, whose ancestors were powerful, learned, brave, and happy; and whose Poets, Historians, Orators, and Philosophers are, and will continue to be, as long as letters preserve any estimation, the objects of our study, our admiration, and delight. May the hand of Providence speedily deliver these oppressed and wretched people from the iron yoke of their detestable rulers! May some brave and generous nation, lovers of liberty, and anxious for the happiness of their fellow-creatures, restore these descendants of Athens and Lacedæmon to the blessings of liberty and peace †! The cause of

* Eton's 'Survey of the Turkish Empire.'

† That the Greeks have still before their eyes the images of their ancient heroes, may be gathered from the following anecdote, related by James Harris, Esq. "When the late Mr. Anson (Lord Anson's brother) was upon his travels in the East, he hired a vessel to visit the Isle of Tenedos. His pilot, an old Greek, as they were sailing along, said, with some satisfaction, "There 'twas our fleet lay!" Mr. Anson demanded, "What fleet?" "What

Christianity, as well as the cause of liberty and letters, impel me to offer up this prayer. But, alas! the Freedom of the Press does not exist in Turkey. The oppressed and wretched Greeks may grieve in silence, but they dare not speak, perhaps dare not look, what they suffer from the barbarous Mahomedans.—May such never be the fate of Englishmen! However, I will not undertake to answer for it. Had the conquerors of Darius and Xerxes been told, that their posterity would be brought to their present deplorable condition, they would have believed it as little as some may now be inclined to think we shall ever be reduced to a like situation. But as we have seen by what means the Greeks lost their liberty, namely, by losing the freedom of Speech, let us take warning from their example, and be watchful of our rights and privileges. "The example of others," says Tacitus, "is the school of wisdom *." PUBLICOLA.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICA and FRANCE.—*Papers relating to the Commerce between them. Laid before Congress. 31st Dec. 1811.*

Translation of a Decree of the 15 (9) July, 1810.

Thirty or forty American vessels may import into France (under licence) cotton, fish-oil, dye wood, salt fish, cod fish, hides, and peltry. They may export wines, brandy, silks, linens, cloths, jewelry, household furniture, and other manufactured articles. They can only depart from Charlestown and New York, under the obligation of bringing with them a gazette of the day of their departure (American Gazette); moreover a certificate of the origin of the merchandize, given by the French Consul, containing a sentence in cypher. The French merchants who shall cause these vessels to come, must prove that they are concerned in the fabrics of Paris, Rouen, and other towns.

General Turreau to Mr. Smith, Washington, 27th Nov. 1810.

Sir.—Since our last conversation relative to the certificates of origin given by

fleet!" replied the old man (a little piqued at the question); "why our Grecian fleet at the siege of Troy." "

* Tacit. Ann. l. 4. c. 33.

the Consuls of his Majesty, in the United States, I have collected and read over the different orders of my Court on that subject, and asked of the Consul General of France, those which he might have received directly on this part of the service, so essential for the security of your exportations.—It results from the instructions which I have received directly, and from those that have been sent to the Consul General, that the Consuls of his Majesty in the United States, do not deliver, nor must not hereafter deliver, under any pretext, any certificate of origin to American vessels destined for any port other than those of France; that they deliver them, and will deliver them hereafter, to all American vessels, destined for the ports of France, loaded only with the produce of the United States; that all the certificates anterior to the last instructions, attributed to the Consuls of his Majesty, and which it is pretended were given for colonial produce that evidently came from England, have been challenged as false (*argues de faux*), inasmuch as the English publicly fabricate papers of this sort at London.—This, Sir, is all that it is possible for me to say to you, at present, respecting certificates of origin.—I cannot doubt but that the Government of the United States will see in these regulations of my Court, an intention, distinctly pronounced, of favouring the commercial relations between France and the United States, in all the objects of traffic which shall evidently proceed from their agriculture or manufactures.—You will readily perceive, Sir, that in giving this latitude to the mutually advantageous relations of the two friendly people, the Emperor cannot depart from the system of exclusion against English commerce, without losing the advantages which his Majesty and the allied powers must necessarily expect from it. I have the honour to be, with high consideration, &c.

(Signed) TURREAU.

*The Secretary of State to General Turreau.
Department of State, Nov. 28, 1810.*

Sir.—I have had the honour of receiving your letter of yesterday, stating that the French Consuls in the United States are at this time authorised to deliver certificates of origin only to such American vessels as are bound to some port of France, and as are laden with the produce of the United States.—It will afford satisfaction to our merchants to know, and, therefore, I have to request you to inform me, whe-

ther, in American vessels, having such certificates of origin, they can export to France every kind of produce of the United States, and especially cotton and tobacco.—In addition to the intelligence communicated in your letter, in relation to the certificates of origin, I have the honour of asking from you information upon the following questions;—1st. Have not the French Consuls been in the practice, under the authority of the French government, of delivering in the ports of the United States, certificates of origin for American vessels bound to the ports of France, and of her Allies, and laden with either colonial produce, or the produce of the United States?—2d. Have the French Consuls in the United States lately received from the French government, instructions not to deliver such certificates of origin for American vessels, and at what time did they receive such instructions?—3d. At what time did the French Consuls cease to issue certificates of origin to American vessels, in pursuance of instructions from their government, in cases of destination to ports of the Allies of France?—These facts being connected with questions interesting to our merchants in foreign tribunals, your goodness will pardon the resort to your aid in ascertaining them.—I have the honour to be, &c.

R. SMITH.

*General Turreau to Mr. Smith. Washington,
Dec. 12, 1810.*

Sir; If I have not replied sooner to the letter which you did me the honour to write to me on the 28th of last month, it is because I have sought information from the Consul-general of his Majesty, whether he had not received directly instructions more recent than those which I had transmitted to him; and also to enable me to give a positive answer to the questions contained in the letter referred to above.—I reply, Sir, to the first of your questions, that M. M. the Consuls of his Majesty to the United States have always delivered certificates of origin to American vessels for the ports of France: they did it in execution of a decree of his Majesty of the 1st of Messidor, of the year 11.—M. M. the French Consuls have also delivered them to vessels destined for neutral or allied ports, whenever they have been required of them. This measure was sanctioned and authorised by a circular dispatch of his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Relations, under date of the 20th

April, 1808. This dispatch prescribes the formalities to be gone through for the certificates, delivered in such cases.—I proceed now, Sir, to reply to the second of your questions.—By a dispatch of his Excellence the Duke of Cadore, of the 30th of August last, received by the "Hornet," the 13th of last month, and of which information was given the same day to the Consuls and Vice-Consuls of his Majesty, they are expressly prohibited from delivering certificates of origin for merchandize of any kind, or under any pretext whatever, if the vessels are not destined for France.—This reply to your second question, Sir, furnishes you with a solution of the third. The Consuls and Vice-Consuls of his Majesty will have ceased to deliver certificates of origin to vessels for any other place than France, immediately on the receipt of this circular, which will reach them a few days sooner or later, according to the greater or less distance of the places of their residence.—Concerning cotton and tobacco: their importation into France is at this moment specially prohibited; but I have reasons to believe (and I pray you, meanwhile, to observe, Sir, that they do not rest upon any facts) that some modifications will be given to this absolute exclusion. These modifications will not depend upon the chance of events, but will be the result of other measures, firm, and pursued with perseverance, which the two governments will continue to adopt, to withdraw from the monopoly, and from the vexations of the common enemy, a commerce, loyal (loyal) and necessary to France as well as to the United States.—Accept, Sir, the renewed assurance of my high consideration.

TURREAU.

*The Secretary of State to General Turreau.
Department of State, Dec. 18, 1810.*

Sir; I have had the honour of receiving your letter of the 12th inst. in reply to my enquiries in relation to certificates of origin, as well as to the admission into France of the products of the agriculture of the United States.—From your letter it appears, that the importation into France of cotton and tobacco, the produce of the United States, is at this time specially and absolutely prohibited.—From the decree of the 15th July, it moreover appears that there can be no importation into France, but upon terms and conditions utterly inadmissible; and that, therefore, there can be no importation at all of the following articles,

the produce of the United States, namely, fish-oil, dye-wood, salt-fish, cod-fish, hides, and peltry.—As these enumerated articles constitute the great mass of the exports from the United States to France, the mind is naturally awakened to a survey of the actual condition of the commercial relations between the two countries; and to the consideration, that no practical good, worthy of notice, has resulted to the United States from the revocation of the Berlin and Milan decrees, combined, as it unexpectedly has been, with a change in the commercial system of France, so momentous to the United States.—The Act of Congress of May last had for its object not merely the recognition of a speculative legitimate principle, but the enjoyment of a substantial benefit. The overture therein presented obviously embraced the idea of commercial advantage. It included the reasonable belief, that an abrogation of the Berlin and Milan decrees would leave the ports of France as free for the introduction of the produce of the United States, as they were previously to the promulgation of those decrees.—The restrictions of the Berlin and Milan decrees had the effect of restraining the American Merchants from sending their vessels to France. The interdictions in the system, that has been substituted, against the admission of American products, will have the effect of imposing upon them an equal restraint. If, then, for the revoked decrees, municipal laws, producing the same commercial effect, have been substituted, the mode only, and not the measure, has undergone an alteration. And, however true it may be that the change is lawful in form, it is, nevertheless, as true, that it is essentially unfriendly, and that it does not at all comport with the ideas inspired by your letter of the 27th ult. in which you were pleased to declare the "distinctly pronounced intention of his Imperial Majesty, of favouring the commercial relations between France and the United States, in all the objects of traffic which shall evidently proceed from their agriculture or manufactures."—If France, by her own acts, has blocked up her ports against the introduction of the products of the United States, what motive has this Government, in a discussion with a third Power, to insist on the privilege of going to France: Whence the inducement to urge the annulment of a blockade of France, when, if annulled, no American cargoes could obtain a

market in any of her ports? In such a state of things, a blockade of the coast of France would be to the United States as unimportant as would be a blockade of the coast of the Caspian sea.—The British edicts may be viewed as having a double relation: 1st, to the wrong done to the United States; 2d, to the wrong done to France: and it is in the latter relation only that France has a right to speak. But what wrong, it may be asked, can France suffer from British Orders, which co-operate with her own regulations.—However sensible the United States may be to the violation of their neutral rights under those edicts, yet if France herself has by her own acts rendered it a theoretical instead of a practical violation, it is for this Government to decide on the degree in which sacrifices of any sort may be required by considerations which peculiarly and exclusively relate to the United States. Certain it is, that the inducements to such sacrifices are weakened, as far as France can weaken them, by having converted the right to be maintained into a naked one, whilst the sacrifices to be made would be substantial and extensive.—A hope, however, is indulged, that your instructions from your Government, will soon enable you to give some satisfactory explanations of the measures to which reference has been made; and that their operation, in virtue of modifications, which have not yet transpired, will not be as has been herein represented.

The President has received with great satisfaction, the information, that the Consuls of France have been heretofore in the official and authorized practice of furnishing certificates of origin to American vessels, as well as to those destined to neutral ports, as to those whose Sovereigns are in alliance with France; and that this practice, sanctioned by the French Government, did not cease in any part of the United States, before the 13th of last month, and then only in consequence of a dispatch from the Duke of Cadore, bearing date the 30th of August preceding. This satisfaction arises from the hope, that similar information may have been given to the Danish Government, and from a sense of the happy influence which such a communication will have had on the American property, that had been seized and detained by the privateers of Denmark, upon the supposition that these certificates of origin were spurious, and not authorised by the French Government.

It is, nevertheless, to be regretted, that the functionaries of France in Denmark had not made known to the Danish authorities, during the occurrence of such outrages on the American trade, the error of denouncing, as illegitimate, authentic documents, which had been lawfully issued by the accredited Agents of his Imperial Majesty.—I have the honour to be, &c.

R. SMITH.

Translation of a Letter from General Turreau, Minister Plenipotentiary of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, the Emperor of the French, &c. to Mr. Smith, Secretary of State. Washington, Dec. 25, 1810.

SIR,—I have received the letter you have done me the honour to write to me the 18th of this month, and I hasten to transmit a copy of it to his Excellency the Duke de Cadore.—This dispatch, Sir, being an answer to the letters which I had the honour to write to you on the 27th of November and 12th of this month, naturally takes me back to their object, to which I believe it is my duty again to call your attention.—I pray you to observe, that the last instructions I have received from my Court, relative to the new directions the commerce of France with the United States must follow are of a very old date; the official dispatches from which I have taken them are of the 12th and 28th of April last. It is the more probable that the regulations of my Government in regard to this commerce have undergone some modifications, as the Consul General received by the "Hornet," dispatches of the 10th of July, 22nd and 30th of August last, in which it is specially stated, that cottons may be imported into France in American vessels, and under certain regulations; whereas according to the instructions which were addressed to me on the 12th and 28th of April; preceding, cotton and tobacco are specially prohibited.—I will add to these data (*ces Données*), that according to the orders transmitted to the Consuls of his Majesty, respecting certificates of origin, and under the date before cited (30th of August last), they may deliver them to all American vessels destined for France, observing that these certificates are not applicable but to the products of the United States. If these certificates of origin cannot be applied but to the productions of the United States, and cannot be given to any vessels but those

destined for France, the introduction of these productions is not then prohibited there.—You will be pleased especially to observe, Sir, that the dispositions which were announced to me by the dispatches of the 12th and 28th of April, are of course anterior to the repeal of the decrees of Berlin and Milan, and are necessarily without an object the moment the said decrees are no longer in force. I do not know of any subsequent acts which modify this repeal; for the instructions already cited, sent to the Consul-General the 30th of August last, relative to the certificates of origin, are only a consequence of it, and formally exclude only colonial productions.—Furthermore, Sir, I have before me the letters of the duke of Cadore to General Armstrong, under date of the 5th of August and 12th of September, of which copies have been sent to me by order of my Court. These are the only documents on which it seems to me reasonable to fix the attention (*s'arreter*), and I see in them nothing which can cause it to be supposed that the French Government may have had an intention to modify or to restrict the repeal of the before cited decrees. This act contains no reserve; it does not exact any guarantee. The declaration of the Duke of Cadore is formal; and it is the provisions themselves of the act of the Hon. Congress of the 1st of May last, which have dictated to him the consequence.—I seize this occasion, with eagerness, Sir, to renew to you the assurance of my high consideration. TURREAU.

General Armstrong to Mr. Smith. Washington, December 27.

SIR,—The enclosed documents, marked 1 and 2, were intended to have made part of my last communication. The paper entitled *Avis au Commerce*, &c. contains a tariff of the new duties payable in France, and shews, besides, what are the articles of commerce, admissible there. If this paper has no other value, it will be found important from the illustration it gives to that passage of the Duke of Cadore's letter to me of the 12th of September last, in which he says, that *American vessels loaded with merchandise, the growth of the American States, will be received without difficulty into the ports of France.* It is also in perfect concert with the practice of the French Custom-house, in the case of the ship *Ida*, coming from Boston, with a cargo of cotton. I am, &c. JOHN ARMSTRONG.

General Armstrong to Mr. Smith. Washington, Dec. 29.

SIR,—In giving the few papers I brought with me another examination, I have found the enclosed extract from the minutes of the French Council of Commerce of the 12th of September last. Having a connection with the subject of my letter of yesterday, I have the honour of transmitting it to you. JOHN ARMSTRONG.

ISLE OF FRANCE.—*Articles of Capitulation.*

(Continued from page 448.)

Art. 7. The property of the inhabitants shall be respected.

Answer.—All private property shall be respected.

Art. 8. The inhabitants shall preserve their religion, laws, and customs.

Answer.—The inhabitants shall preserve their religion, laws, and customs.

Art. 9. The colonists shall have the option, during two years to come, to quit the colony with their respective private property.

Answer.—They shall enjoy, during two years, the liberty of quitting the colony with their property in order to proceed to any place they may wish.

Art. 10. The wounded or sick that it shall be necessary to leave in the hospitals shall be treated the same as the subjects of his Britannic Majesty; French surgeons shall be permitted to remain with them, and they shall afterwards be sent to France at the expence of the British government.

Answer.—The wounded who may be left in the hospitals shall be treated in the same manner as the subjects of his Britannic Majesty.

Additional Instructions.

Art. 1. The public functionaries of the French government of the Isle of France shall be permitted to remain in the colony for a reasonable period, to regulate and discharge their public accounts with the colonists.

Art. 2. The morning of the 3d of December instant at six o'clock a. m. possession shall be given to the troops of his Britannic Majesty of the forts of Du Mas, and the lines of the town of Port Napoleon, down to the Bastion Fanfaron.

Art. 3. The morning of the 4th of

December instant, at six o'clock, a. m. the Isle of Tonnelien, Fort Blanc, and the whole of the batteries of the Harbour of Port Napoleon, and all the shipping, both ships of war and privateers, and merchant or other shipping of every description whatsoever, shall be given up to the naval and military forces of his Britannic Majesty; and all shipping lying in any other creek, port, or harbour of the Island, shall equally be considered as the property of his Britannic Majesty.

Art. 4. The troops of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, and the crews of the ships of war and privateers, shall retire to the barracks of the town, where they shall continue until their final embarkation.

Art. 5. That the subsistence of the French garrison, both officers and men, as well as of the officers and crews of the ships of war, so long as they shall remain here, shall be assured and provided for by the British Government; the expences arising therefrom shall be considered as an advance for which the French Government is pledged.

Art. 6. That on the surrender of the Port, as stipulated by the third additional article, all English prisoners of war, of whatever description, now in the Isle of France, shall be liberated.

Art. 7. That if any difference shall arise in the interpretation of any part of the foregoing, it shall be interpreted in favour of the French Government.

This done and agreed at the British head-quarters at Pamplemonus, at one o'clock A. M. the 3rd day of Dec. 1810.

VANDERMAESEN, Gen. of Division.

HENRY WANDE, Major-General.

JOSIAS ROWLEY, Commodore.

J. DUPRERE, Capit. de Vaisseau.

Approuvé et ratifié, la presente,

DE CAEN, Capit. General.

CHARLES DE COETLOGON,

Sec. to the Commissioners.

A List of Ships, &c. &c. in Port Napoleon, at the reduction of the Isle of France, Dec. 1810.

French frigate L'Astrée, of 44 guns and 1,100 tons.

French frigate La Bellone, of 48 guns and 1,050 tons.

French frigate La Manche, of 44 guns and 1,050 tons.

French frigate La Minerve, of 52 guns and 1,200 tons.

English frigate Iphigenia, of 36 guns and 950 tons.

English frigate Nereide, of 36 guns and 900 tons.

French sloop Le Victor, of 22 guns and 400 tons.

French brig L'Entreprenante, of 14 guns and 300 tons.

A new French brig, name unknown, of 14 guns and 300 tons.

English Indiaman Charlton, prison ship, of 30 guns and 900 tons.

English Indiaman Ceylon, prison ship, of 30 guns and 900 tons.

English Indiaman United Kingdom, prison ship, of 30 guns and 900 tons.

French ship La Ville d'Auten, of 1000 tons.

French ship La Severam, of 250 tons.

French ship L'Adele, of 220 tons.

French ship L'Aurora, of 150 tons.

French ship Le Prudent, of 250 tons.

French ship Le Robuste, of 700 tons.

French ship Le Wellesley, of 700 tons.

French ship Le William Burroughs of 1000 tons.

French ship Le Philip Dundas, of 300 tons.

French ship Le Trafalgar, of 800 tons.

French ship L'Althea, of 1,000 tons.

French ship Le Hope, of 400 tons.

French ship Le Marie, of 300 tons.

French ship Le Fannie, of 280 tons.

French ship Le Forth, of 200 tons.

French brig L'Eclair, 250 tons.

French brig L'Active, 300 tons.

French brig L'Orient, 250 tons.

French brig Le Favourite, 180 tons.

French brig L'Illusion, 180 tons.

French brig Le Jeune Armond, 100 tons.

French brig Le Zephyr, 100 tons.

French brig L'Ant, 70 tons.

French brig L'Amiable Creole, 60 tons.

American ship Hermes, 300 tons.

American ship Thomas, 300 tons.

American brig Angilika, 220 tons.

American schooner Spy, 150 tons.

Five gun boats. A. BERTIE.

Clorinde, Dec. 4, 1810.

Sir; On delivering up the command which you did me the honour to confide in me, I feel it my duty to acquaint you, that every officer and man conducted themselves in a manner most perfectly answerable to your expectations, and I beg to inclose a Paragraph of the Public Order issued by General Abercromby, expressive of his sentiments on the occasion. The zeal and ability of Lieutenant Loyd, senior lieutenant on the service, are too well known to you to render any encomium from me necessary; and I also beg

to recommend to your notice Mr. John Gosland, master's mate of his Majesty's ship Cornwallis, who acted as my aid-de-camp, and who having passed his examination for lieutenant, is worthy of promotion.

I feel much indebted to Captains Yates and Nesbit, of the City of London and Huddart Indiamen, who handsomely volunteered to serve with me, and who brought a proportion of seamen to assist in the laborious duty of dragging the cannon; the former, I am sorry to say, died of excessive fatigue the first day's march. Our loss has been trifling, consisting of five men wounded, although, I am sorry to say, most of them are seriously. I have the honour to be, &c. N. F. MONTAGUE.

Vice-Admiral Bertie, &c. &c. &c.

Paragraph of General Orders issued by General Abercromby, on the 1st of December, 1810, before Port Louis.

Paragraph 3.—Major-General Abercromby is happy also to acknowledge the steadiness shewn by the 12th and 22d Regiments, and he feels himself particularly grateful for the zealous exertions of a detachment of seamen landed from the squadron, under the command of Captain Montague; and he requests to offer him, the officers and men under his command, his sincere acknowledgments for the service which they have rendered to the army.

Extract from General Orders, Head-Quarters, Camp before Port-Louis, Dec. 5, 1810.

Major General Abercromby, in the name of the army, feels an inexpressible degree of pride and satisfaction in acknowledging the powerful and cordial co-operation which has been received from the naval force under the command of his Excellency Vice-Admiral Bertie, which has been heightened by the cordiality and unanimity subsisting to a degree, perhaps without example, between the two branches of the service. The commander of the forces feels it his particular duty to offer his most sincere thanks to Captain Beaver, for the able and judicious manner in which he conducted the disembarkation, as well as for the indefatigable exertions he has since used in discharging the duty confided to him by the Vice-Admiral, in supplying the wants of the army; and Major-General Abercromby is equally indebted to Captains Briggs, Lys and Street,

and to the officers and seamen employed under their orders in the disembarkation of the troops.

The exertions and able assistance received from Captain Montague, of the Royal Navy, and the officers and seamen with the army on shore, have been too conspicuous not to have attracted the observations and acknowledgments of every individual.

Major-General Abercromby must, however, request that Captain Montague will be pleased to convey to those who were under his command the impression which their conduct has made on his mind.

W. NICHOLSON, Dep. Adj. Gen.

Africaine, in Port Louis, Dec. 6, 1810.

Sir; I have the honour to transmit herewith, for the information of their Lordships, a copy of a General Memorandum issued by me this day to the captains and commanders of the ships and vessels of the squadron under my command. I have the honour to be, &c. A. BERTIE.

Africaine, Port Louis, Dec. 6, 1810.

General Memorandum.

The Commander in Chief congratulates the officers and crews of the ships of the squadron under his command, on the successful issue of the attack of this valuable and important colony, which has placed it under his Majesty's protection.

He feels he has a duty to acquit in thus publicly communicating the sense he entertains of the zealous and unremitting exertion of all ranks throughout the squadron, and he requests that the captains and commanders of the ships and vessels will more immediately make known to the officers and crews under their command respectively these his sentiments.

A. BERTIE.

SUPPLEMENT to the London Gazette Extraordinary, of Wednesday, Feb. 13—
Published Friday, February 15, 1811.

A Dispatch, of which the following is an Extract, has been received from the Honourable Major General Abercromby, by the Earl of Liverpool, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, dated Port Louis, Isle of France, December 7, 1810.

I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that the Isle of France surrendered by capitulation, on the 3d inst. to the united force under the command of Vice Admiral Bertie and myself.

I must refer your Lordship for the particulars of the operations which led to this fortunate event to the copy of my official Letter to the Right Honourable the Governor General, which, together with other documents, I have now the honour to transmit to your Lordship.

In conformity with the instructions which I had the honour to receive from Lord Minto, I have placed Mr. Farquhar in charge of the government; and I confidently trust, that, in having adopted this measure, I shall not incur the displeasure of his Majesty's Government.

This Dispatch will be delivered to your Lordship by Captain Hewitt, my Aid de Camp, and I believe your Lordship will find him perfectly qualified to afford you every information which you may require in respect to the late operations of this force.

To the Right Honourable Gilbert Lord Minto, &c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,

I had the honour to inform your Lordship in my dispatch of the 21st ult. that although the divisions from Bengal and the Cape of Good Hope had not arrived at the rendezvous, it had been determined that the fleet should proceed to sea on the following morning, as from the advanced season of the year, and the threatening appearance of the weather, the ships could no longer be considered secure in their anchorage at Rodriguez; and I did myself the honour to state to your Lordship, the measures which it was my intention to pursue, even if we should still be disappointed in not being joined by so large a part of the armament.

Early on the morning of the 22d, Vice Admiral Bertie received a communication from Capt. Broughton, of his Majesty's ship *Illustrious*, announcing his arrival off the Island with the convoy from Bengal.—The fleet weighed at daylight, as had been originally arranged, and in the course of that day a junction having been formed with this division, the fleet bore up for the Isle of France.

The greatest obstacles opposed to an attack on this Island with a considerable force, have invariably been considered to depend on the difficulty of effecting a landing, from the reefs which surround every part of the coast, and the supposed

impossibility of being enabled to find anchorage for a fleet of transports.

These difficulties were fortunately removed by the indefatigable exertions of Commodore Rowley, assisted by Lieutenant Street of the *Staunch* gun brig, Lieutenant Blackiston of the *Madras Engineers*, and the Masters of his Majesty's ships *Africaine* and *Boadicea*.—Every part of the leeward side of the Island was minutely examined and sounded, and it was discovered that a fleet might anchor in the narrow passage formed by the small Island of the Gunner's Coin and the main land, and that at this spot there were openings through the reef, which would admit several boats to enter abreast. These obvious advantages fixed my determination, although I regretted that circumstances would not allow of the disembarkation being effected at a shorter distance from Port Louis.

Owing to light and baffling winds, the fleet did not arrive in sight of the Island until the 28th; and it was the morning of the following day, before any of the ships came to an anchor.

Every arrangement for the disembarkation having been previously made, the first division consisting of the reserve, the grenadier company of the 59th regiment, with two six-pounders, and two howitzers, under the command of Major Gen. Warde, effected a landing in the Bay of Mapon, without the smallest opposition, the enemy having retired from Fort Marlastris, situated at the head of Grand Bay, and the nearest port to us which they occupied.

As soon as a sufficient part of the European force had been formed, it became necessary to move forward, as the first five miles of the road lay through a very thick wood, which made it an object of the utmost importance, not to give the enemy time to occupy it.

Lieutenant Colonel Smyth having been left with his Brigade to cover the landing place, with orders to follow next morning, the column marched about four o'clock, and succeeded in gaining the more open country, without any efforts having been made by the enemy to retard our progress, a few shot only having been fired by a small picquet, by which Lieutenant Colonel Keating, Lieutenant Ash, of his Majesty's 12th Regiment, and a few men of the advanced guard, were wounded.

(*To be continued.*)